

FORTY-SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

American Colonization Society,

WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING

AND OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

JANUARY 19, 1864.

WASHINGTON:
COLONIZATION SOCIETY BUILDING.
Cor. Pennsylvania Avenue and 4½ street.
1864.

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AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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FORTY-SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
JANUARY 19, 1864.

DECEASE OF FRIENDS.

While the mortality among the friends and benefactors of this Society has not been unusually great during the year, the State Societies record the decease of several distinguished and liberal advocates of the cause. The names and virtues of these friends are commemorated by the Societies with which they were more intimately associated, though many of them have generously contributed to the prosperity and funds of this Institution.

Four Vice Presidents have also departed this life since the last meeting of this Society, viz : Rt. Rev. James H. Otey, D. D., of Tennessee, Gen. John S. Darcy, of New Jersey, Thomas Henderson, Esq., of Mississippi, and Hon. J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.

This Society cannot pass in silence the decease of that eminent patriot and Christian, Admiral A. H. Foote, whose voice of benevolence and encouragement has repeatedly cheered the progress of this Institution, and who, at our last anniversary, expressed his deep convictions of the wisdom and beneficence of this Society; nor the death of the Rev. Robert Baird, D. D., an early and steadfast sup-

Emigration—Finances.

porter of our great enterprise, and whose unceasing efforts in behalf of evangelical religion gained for him thousands of warm friends throughout the world.

Liberia has also suffered during the year the loss of her first Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. Francis Burns, who adorned the Christian ministry on her shores for many years, and bequeaths to the churches of that Republic a precious memory and an undying example.

EMIGRATION.

The Mary Caroline Stevens left Baltimore for Liberia on the 25th of May last, taking twenty-six passengers, and several missionaries destined to Sierra Leone and its vicinity. The Executive Committee were induced to dispatch this expedition, notwithstanding the small number of emigrants, to keep up its regular intercourse with Liberia, to introduce animals much needed, and, by trade, to diminish the necessary expenses of so large a ship and so long a voyage.

FINANCES.

The Treasurer's report shows a total receipt during the year ending December 31, 1863, of \$50,900 36, and the disbursements \$35, 719 95;—leaving a balance to the credit of the Society of \$4,482 88, and of the Government of Liberia for recaptured Africans of \$23, 214 66.

AUXILIARY STATE SOCIETIES.

Brief reports have been received from several of these Societies, showing undiminished confidence in African Colonization. The great excitement of the times, the urgent claims of many other benevolent objects, the impression that our Government had appropriated a fund which might be applied to colonization, and the

President Benson in Europe.

small number of emigrants that had avowed a purpose of removal to Liberia, have prevented the employment of agents by State Societies, and very large accumulations of funds. But they have continued to exert and extend a salutary and wide-spread influence in favor of the cause, and, by their writings, and appeals, by the personal influence of their members, and contributions to Liberian education, to aid one great branch of its interests, and that which is not the least vital in the prosperity of the cause to which they are devoted.

UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL.

The last year has been the first during which Liberia has been acknowledged as independent by the Government of the United States. The recent appointment, by our Government, of the Hon. Abraham Hanson, to Wisconsin, as Commissioner and Consul-General to Liberia, meets the approbation of some of her best citizens, and we believe will aid the cause of African improvement and civilization. Mr. Hanson has spent several months at Monrovia, and shown an earnest desire to promote the interests of that Republic.

BIENNIAL ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

The election, on the 5th of May, of the Hon. Daniel B. Warner, as President, and the Rev. James M. Priest, as Vice President, without agitation, and by large majorities, showed a determination of the people to discharge their highest civil duties with order.

PRESIDENT BENSON IN EUROPE.

The reception shown to President Benson, and other distinguished citizens of Liberia, during their visit to England and the continent, was noticed in our last Report, though little was said of the benefits anticipated from that visit. The treaty negotiated by our Minister,

Liberia College and Education.

Mr. Adams, and President Benson, on the 21st of October, was subsequently ratified by the United States and Liberia.

Several important subjects were brought to the attention of the British Government, and H. M. Minister of Foreign Affairs was pleased (says President Benson to the Legislature) "to express in person every assurance of the best feelings of H. M. Government, as well as of himself individually, for the welfare and success of Liberia."

The difficulties in determining the northwest boundary of Liberia are yet unsettled. A joint commission was appointed by the two Governments, but they arrived at no satisfactory conclusion. With this exception, the relations of Liberia to foreign countries, as well as to the native Africans, are those of amity, and improving social and commercial intercourse are highly conducive to the progress of civilization on the African coast.

LIBERIA COLLEGE AND EDUCATION.

In his letter of September 25th, Ex-President Roberts says: "I am gratified in being able to state that thus far since its opening, everything relating to the College has advanced satisfactorily, and its present prospects, I think, are as encouraging as could be reasonably expected—though, as yet, we are greatly in need of funds for various purposes, especially of a few scholarships, to aid several deserving young men who are anxious to avail themselves of its advantages, but who are not able entirely to support themselves in the College, while pursuing a course of studies."

At the end of the second term, 15th of July last, the students were examined, in presence of the Executive Committee and a goodly number of citizens, and acquitted themselves well—quite to the satisfaction of all present, on the following subjects: English Language and Literature, Scripture, History, Elements of

Liberia College and Education.

Moral Science, Algebra, Greek, Latin, and French. The term closed with nine students in the College proper, and twelve in the preparatory department. The third term commenced with three additional students in the College, and two in the lower department. Three of the students are beneficiaries of the New York State Colonization Society; the others are supported by their parents or relations.

The New York State Colonization Society is much impressed with the importance of giving permanent support to this College, and to that end recommend the establishment of scholarships, and the Board of Trustees for Education highly approve the object, justly deeming the cause of education in Liberia essential to its honor and prosperity.

Three young men have been supported in preparations for the College from the income of the Bloomfield fund, and will be assisted during their College course by the application of this same fund, through the New York Colonization Society. The same Society has resolved to provide for the salary of the Rev. Edward W. Blyden from the income of the Joseph Fulton Professorship fund.

Martin H. Freeman, A. M., a graduate of Middlebury College, Vermont, and for the last twelve years, principal of Avery College at Alleghany City, Pa., is preparing to embark for Liberia, having been appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the College of that Republic. John P. Crozer, Esq., President of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, has generously subscribed \$1000; the Rev. Franklin Butler engages to secure an equal amount from friends in Vermont, and John Cox, Esq., of Philadelphia, has kindly agreed to give \$500 toward the sum of \$4000 required for the support of Professor Freeman for five years.

The Government of Liberia and the Trustees of the College have shown an earnest resolution in the cause of education. The num-

Recaptured Africans.

ber of schools authorized by the Legislature is sixteen, to be increased by those to be established in Bassa County, and opened as early as teachers can be obtained. The Legislature also appropriated \$500 to establish a Preparatory Department to the College. This is regarded as but a temporary arrangement; since the Monrovia Academy, the Alexander High School (to be established at Harrisburg, on the St. Paul's) and the Episcopal High School, at Cape Palmas, will all be prepared to qualify young men for College.

RECAPTURED AFRICANS.

These Africans are reported as improving rapidly in intelligence, morals and industry, and skill in their labor. A distinguished minister of the Gospel wrote early in the year from Monrovia, that in the general they are making progress in civilization and in the knowledge of God and of His Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. He mentions the addition of a number to the various churches, in different districts of the Republic, and to their ready attendance at the churches and Sunday schools on the St. Paul's river. The Rev. John Seys, the Agent of the United States Government, to protect the rights and advance the interests of these Africans, testifies that "no place could be selected on the face of the earth, where the same expenditures of money, effort, and care would result in the same amount of good—physically, morally, politically, and spiritually—to the Africans taken by our cruisers, as in the Republic of Liberia." About forty of these Africans, placed by the Liberia authorities at a settlement called Ashmun, near the falls of the Sinoe river, have conducted themselves well, not only supporting themselves, but supplying the town of Greenville with the products of their industry. A letter from an intelligent citizen of Greenville, of the 18th of September last, states that, with two others, he had visited this place, and looked into the condition of the recaptured Africans,

Capacity of Liberia.

and was much gratified to find that a school is established by the Government for their benefit, that a minister of the Methodist Church is in charge, and religious services performed every Sabbath, and that devout attention is given to these services. From various sources we learn that these Africans add very largely and essentially to the Agricultural labor of the Republic. One of the largest sugar growers on the St. Paul's river thus testifies to the capacity and industry of those apprenticed to him :

“ My entire farming operations are carried on with them (Congoes) and some few Golahs. My steam mill has for engineer a Vey boy. My sugar-maker, cooper, and fireman are Congoes, and their entire acquaintance with the material parts have been gained by observation. At wood chopping they cannot be excelled. Seven boys or young men have in three weeks' time cut one hundred and seventy-five cords of wood; and when I tell you how they managed thus to do, it will be but another fact to prove that the hope of reward sweetens labor. These boys are my apprentices, and they cut each, as his week's work, five cords of wood and put it up; for all they can cut and put up over that quantity I pay them fifty cents per cord. So you see, in three weeks' time they make for themselves twenty-five dollars. My cooper is far in advance of many Americo-Liberians, who style themselves such; likewise my sugar-maker.”

CAPACITY OF LIBERIA.

From an able article, published in the *Boston Courier*, by the Secretary of the Massachusetts Society, the Liberia Republic has an extent of territory of 15,276,000 acres. Dr. Traey says : “Allowing 276,000 acres for waste land, which is an extravagant allowance, there remain 15,000,000 acres; that is, lots of ten acres each for 1,500,000 families; and these families, at four persons each, would amount to

Products, Industry, and Trade of Liberia.

6,000,000 inhabitants; more by upwards of a million than all the colored people in the United States and in Liberia. The African equivalent of a log cabin may be built in a few days, at an expense of five dollars, and is expected to last five years. With a few weeks' notice that they will be wanted, they may be ready at any time in any number. No emigration made with deliberation and forethought, need be restricted on this account."

PRODUCTS, INDUSTRY, AND TRADE OF LIBERIA.

The visit of Edward S. Morris, Esq., to Liberia, has done much to awaken a new spirit of agricultural and other improvements among her people, and more especially to convince them that in the culture of the coffee-plant, they have an exhaustless source of wealth. Having cherished for some years a warm interest in African civilization, participated in the councils of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, corresponded with some of the ablest citizens of Liberia, his zeal rose to enthusiasm, and taking with him the best machine of which he had any knowledge for hulling and cleaning coffee and preparing it for the market, he visited Liberia, repeatedly addressed her citizens, inspired them with agricultural resolution and hope, and showed them that in the cultivation of the rich productions of the tropics, they possessed advantages over most nations of the world. We believe that the visit and addresses of Mr. Morris made a deep impression upon the people of Liberia, and will contribute largely to the skill, energy, and profitable results of their agricultural industry.

The Massachusetts Society states, in its last report, upon the authority of the Liberia Herald, that the exports of sugar from Monrovia during the last fiscal year, ending September 30, 1862, were 14,892 pounds; for the next six months, 31,331 pounds, of which 28,176 were sent to the United States, and 2,708 pounds to Sierra

English Companies for African Trade.

Leone. Of coffee, 9,102 pounds were exported to the United States, and 230 to Sierra Leone. The total exports from Monrovia for the first of these periods was \$14,204 50 ; for the second, \$72,757 82.

The Legislature of Liberia, at its last session, passed an act restricting the trade of foreign vessels to ports of entry after January 1, 1865. This restriction will enable the Government to collect duties on all imports, which has hitherto been impossible.

At the last International Exhibition in London, 123 articles from Liberia were exhibited, presenting a variety of manufactured articles, both native and Liberian. At a meeting of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, May 21, Lord Alfred Churchill, M. P., in the chair, honorable notice was taken of these articles by G. F. Wilson, F. R. S., a gentleman appointed as one of the jurors of that Exhibition.

A paper, read by Gerard Ralston, Esq., Consul General of Liberia, on the Republic of Liberia, its products and resources, containing much information, was highly commended, and the audience was addressed by President Benson, Ex-President Roberts, Colonel O'Connor, formerly Governor of the Gambia, and Captain Close, of the Royal Navy, who had commanded on the African coast.

Mr. Ralston wrote to the Secretary of the Massachusetts Society : "The timber of Liberia, such as we saw at the International Exhibition, is of excellent quality, and would be much used, if it could be obtained here. For coffee, sugar, and particularly cotton, the demand is for inexhaustible quantities. All the Lancashire spinners say, that the Liberian cotton is the best substitute for the middling New Orleans quality, of which four million of bales are annually wanted in Europe."

ENGLISH COMPANIES FOR AFRICAN TRADE.

Several large companies are organized in Great Britain, to pros-

English Companies for African Trade.

ecute commerce with that country. The West African Steamship Company has a capital of £250,000, or \$1,250,000, in 25,000 shares of £10. Consul-General Ralston is one of the Directors. We understand that the Company intend to apply to the Post Office Department for a renewal of the contract for carrying the mails to and from the coast of West Africa, extending their route some 1,600 miles further to Loando. It is proposed to have a ship leave England once a fortnight, instead of monthly, and efforts will be made to have the line touch at Monrovia, as well as at Cape Palmas, which will give much additional facility for trade to Liberia. The great object of the Company is to establish agencies, factories and depots on the coast of Western Africa, to bring down the valuable products of the interior to those factories and depots on the coast, and thereby to open up, in exchange for British manufactures, a practically illimitable market for cotton and other products, and to secure their transmission to the ports of the United Kingdom. Persons acclimated, native merchants and others are employed by the Company, or are ready for its service at Abbeokuta, Elmina, Lagos, Cape Palmas, and on the Niger. By its agency at Cape Palmas it connects Liberia with its extensive operations.

Two other large Companies—the London and West African Bank, with a capital of half a million of pounds, and the London and Liberia Banking and Commercial Institution, with a capital of more than a million of dollars, have issued their proposals, and it is thought by the establishment of branches at the various commercial settlements on the African Coast, they will afford accommodation to all respectable merchants in Liberia and on other parts of the African coast. By a return of imports from Western Africa into England, it appears that the increase in 1860 over 1859 was £250,388 ; and the increased exports from Great Britain to that coast in 1860 over 1859 was £255,268.

Slave Trade—African Missions.

SLAVE TRADE.

How far the recent treaty between this country and Great Britain has accomplished its object, is not yet ascertained, though there is reason to hope it may prove effective. By this treaty, the reciprocal right of search and detention of all vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, within two hundred miles of the African coast, and to the thirty-second parallel of south latitude, and within thirty leagues from the coast of the island of Cuba, is mutually conceded. Courts of Mixed Commission are also established at New York, Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope, to adjudicate upon all cases of alleged prosecution of this trade.

AFRICAN MISSIONS.

The cause of missions, though sometimes darkened and interrupted, and in some cases failing of predicted success, is making progress and winning signal triumphs on most parts of the African coast, and far into the interior of Africa. The recent labors of that great traveller, Dr. Livingstone, and the University Mission which he engaged so earnestly in planting near the Zambesi, have of late been attended by opposition and calamities which have inclined the Government to abandon further exploration. The geographical discoveries made do not, it is thought, warrant a continuance of the heavy expenditures required, and the expedition is ordered home.

But benevolent Societies are still persevering in their endeavors. Dr. Krapf, so eminent for his labors within and on the borders of Abyssinia, has returned to his chosen field, having visited the various missionaries in Egypt on his way, while Swiss and German missionaries traverse wide districts of Eastern Africa. Those of England, France, and America occupy large regions of the

African Explorations.

south, while those from Scotland have proceeded interior to the unhealthy regions visited by Dr. Livingstone on his route across the continent.

AFRICAN EXPLORATION.

The last has been a year of remarkable explorations and discoveries. Captain Speke, at a banquet recently given to him and his companion, Captain Grant, in London, said: "My object is nothing less than the regeneration of Africa. I believe—and I say I *believe*, because I have only been across the tract once—that I have discovered a zone of wonderful fertility in Africa. It is in a line with the Equator from east to west, and its fertility perfectly astonished me." This region is represented by him to be between 3000 and 4000 feet in altitude, watered by rains the entire year, fertilizing the adjoining regions with a temperature as mild as that of England in summer, and the most healthy of all the countries through which he travelled. Arab merchants, and others, say that there is no place so healthy as the equatorial region. "If means," said Captain Speke, "were taken to colonize it, there would, I am sure, be ample repayment; and if missionaries should again enter Africa, I would say that to this spot they should especially devote their attention, and if ever they should do so, they will meet there with a people who are not purely heathen, but who emanated from the Abyssinian stock, and have the germ of Christianity within them. I wish particularly to draw the attention of clergymen to these people. When I spoke to them of the power of knowledge, they wished that I would educate their children. I told them that I would send missionaries to them, and as they all accepted the view which I then expressed, I feel certain that they are now expecting them." Captain Speke urged that negro clergymen should be employed from the Western coast. In the view of this great traveller, the instruction of the

Conclusion.

native African people, and their civilization, is the speediest and cheapest way of suppressing the slave trade.

The country interior from Liberia has been but imperfectly explored, yet the extent to which some adventurous citizens of this Republic have examined it, induces the expectation that an elevated region will there be revealed, beautiful, healthy and fertile, inviting the dispersed children of Africa from this and many lands to repossess, civilize, and enjoy the ancient home of their race.

CONCLUSION.

The policy of the Government of the United States towards our free people of color, and such as become free in the progress of the great contest in which we are involved, is a subject of much controversy and debate. The President and Congress entertain a lively interest in Liberia, and in the civilization of Africa. The spirit of humanity and of commerce, and the desire to promulgate Christianity, have inspired this and other enlightened nations with justice and benevolence towards the people of Africa. Other ends may be sought and gained, but the recovery of this quarter of the world from the night of ages to knowledge and religion should not be neglected or forgotten.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, FROM JAN. 1ST TO DEC. 31ST, 1863.

18

TREASURER'S REPORT.

		Dr.			Cr.
1. To balances due the Society, 31st Dec. 1862.....	\$105,330 83		51. By expenses of emigrants.....	\$5,750 71	
2. Less balances owed by the So- ciety, do.....	27,646 91		55. " " " ship M. C. Ste- vens.....	12,864 96	
		\$77,683 92	59. " expenses of salaries and im- provements in Liberia.....	5,098 83	
51. To am't rec'd for expenses of emigrants.....	9,015 35		83. " expenses of Af. Repository..	1,508 74	
55. " am't rec'd ship M. C. Stevens	10,226 94		99. " loss in remittances.....	23 00	
59. " " " from Liberia.....	1,020 00		127. " taxes, insurances, &c., on colonization building.....	484 24	
83. " " " of Repository sub- scribers.....	121 85		134. " collecting legacies.....	100 00	
99. " am't rec'd from donat'ns and collections.....	6,665 76		136. " profit and loss.....	168 53	
127. " am't rec'd from rents of col- onization building.....	3,370 74		58. " contingent expenses.....	213 97	
134. " am't rec'd from legacies	12,338 95		107. " salaries and office expenses.	5,811 68	
136. " " " " miscellane's.	5,728 27		140. " general expense account.....	3,273 64	
75. " " " " transportat'n of Congoes	2,412 50				35,298 30
		50,900 36	311. Journal, old accounts closed...		421 65
			Balances due to the Society.....	99,728 40	
			Less balances owed by do.....	34,561 11	
			Difference.....	65,167 29	
			Cash in hand of the Society	4,482 38	
			Cash in hand for Gov. of Lib'a.....	23,214 66	
				27,697 04	
					92,864 33
		\$128,584 28			\$128,584 28

The Committee on Accounts have performed the duty assigned to them, and have found the accounts submitted to their inspection correctly kept and properly vouched.

(Signed.) J. S. ROPES, *Chairman.*

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the American Colonization Society was held January 19, 1864, at 7 o'clock P. M., in the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Rev. P. D. Gurley, D. D., pastor, Washington City. The President of the Society, Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, presided.

Owing to the inclemency of the weather, the Society, on motion, adjourned to meet to-morrow evening in the 4½ street Presbyterian church.

The Society convened, according to adjournment, in the 4½ street Presbyterian church, Rev. Dr. Sunderlaad, pastor, on Wednesday evening, January 20, the President in the chair. The Divine blessing was invoked by the Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

The Annual Report was presented, and earnest and eloquent Addresses were made by the Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore; Lewis H. Wheeler, Esq., of Towsontown, Maryland; and the Rev. Phineas D. Gurley, D. D., of Washington City.

After the benediction, which was pronounced by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, the Society adjourned to meet to-morrow, at 12 o'clock M. in the rooms of the Society.

On Thursday, at 12 o'clock, the Society met pursuant to adjournment, the President in the chair, when the minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

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The President appointed William V. Pettit, Esq., George W. Scott, Esq., and Gen. E. A. Elliot a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The Committee subsequently nominated the following named gentlemen as officers, who were unanimously elected. (See list on page 3.)

On motion of Hon. P. Parker, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the American Colonization Society are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, Lewis H. Wheeler, Esq., and the Rev. P. D. Gurley, D. D., for their very able and timely addresses before the Society last evening, and that those gentlemen be requested to furnish a copy of their respective addresses for publication under the direction of this Society.

The Society then adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday in January, 1865, at 7½ o'clock, p. m., at such place as the Executive Committee shall select.

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ADDRESS OF JOHN H. B. LATROBE, Esq.

Members of the American Colonization Society,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have been unexpectedly requested by the Executive Committee to occupy the time, this evening, which had been allotted to one or more speakers, who have failed to attend. I cannot do so more profitably than by saying a few words touching the condition and prospects of the Colonization cause.

The question is constantly asked, "What are you doing—how many emigrants are you sending to Africa?" And the invariable reply is, "We are doing little or nothing—we are sending few if any emigrants; and yet, never has the success of our scheme appeared more certain than at the present time."

The paucity of emigrants and the smallness of our collections are susceptible of easy explanation; so, too, are the grounds of our unhesitating confidence in the future.

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We are engaged in a contest unparalleled in the history of the world; and the prominence which it has given to the subject of slavery, and the general belief that it will end in the freedom, sooner or later, of all who are now held in bondage, has led many to suppose that the condition of the negro will be so much modified, when peace shall be established, that the separation of the two races, towards which Colonization tends, will be no longer necessary; and that whites and negroes will come to be regarded as equals, socially; or that, at any rate, there will be a fair division between them of the rewards of industry, if not of place and power.

That the negro should be credulous at the suggestion of so pleasant an illusion, is not unnatural; and although his past experience ought to create doubts as to the probability of such a result, yet, we would be more surprised if he did not wait to see the issue of the war, before he made up his mind about Colonization, than we are at his doing so.

The hesitation of the free negro to emigrate at this time, abandoning the vague and dreamy hope of some great, but undefined, good that is to befall him when the war is ended, is thus readily accounted for; and until his eyes shall be opened to the truth, we can expect but very few emigrants from this quarter.

While the war, in this way, affects indirectly the supply of emigrants, it has entirely cut us off from our usual supply of slaves, emancipated by southern masters, for emigration to Liberia. And here, again, Colonization suffers for the present.

But the dreams we have above referred to are not confined to the negro. The whites indulge in them. They lose sight of the mighty and paramount question of our Union, and, because the collateral one of the negro has been made prominent, they seem to imagine that the war will end by overcoming all the prejudices of the whites, annulling the law of races, and fitting the new-made free men for that social equality, which those of their race, born free, educated and refined, have never yet been able to attain. They make no attempt to vindicate these views by argument. They have a faith, but no reason for it: and while they wait, in the hope that all they wish for may 'turn up', they suspend their

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judgment in regard to Colonization. They suspend their contributions too. And, here again, Colonization suffers.

Verily, if either whites or negroes are right in these anticipations, Colonization is, indeed, *functus officio*; and the most that we can hope to do, is to maintain a respectable position among the missionary associations, differing from them in this only, that we have a peculiar field of operations, cultivated by us in a peculiar manner.

But, are they right? We think not. And in demonstrating their error, we will vindicate our belief that the success of our scheme was never more assured than now. We have often said that African Colonization was destiny. This war will force all men to admit it.

Let us assume, that, sooner or later, immediately, or after some comparatively brief interval, every slave in America finds himself a freed man when peace shall be restored; not freed by Proclamation merely, but actually, practically free—free to work at pleasure, and for whom he pleases. It requires no stretch of the imagination to do this; we have only to fancy ourselves in the State of Pennsylvania, where there are many free negroes, and no slaves.

What, then, will be the condition of the country? We have, now, according to the last census, 482,005 free negroes. We will then have 4,441,765.*

Our population, now, is divided into three classes, whites, free negroes, and slaves. Then, there will be but two classes, whites and negroes, both free.

A mighty change will have been accomplished; and the question is, how will it affect the social condition of the negro race amongst us. Will it reconcile the whites to receive negroes into their families—into their counting houses—to work with them in the same factories—to share with them the same out door-labor—to live with them under even the humblest roofs? Will it do anything, in a word, to obviate the strife and heartburnings, that have of late years prevailed wherever the races have been brought in contact,

* The figures of the last census are used in these remarks, although the lapse of time is daily changing them. Still, they answer the end of the argument.

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and which have been regarded as making their separation, by means of Colonization, a necessity?

The subject is too grave to be dealt with by dogmatic assertions. The happiness and destiny of a people are not to be perilled through pride of opinion. We have no justification in continuing our scheme, and urging it upon whites and negroes, merely because we believe that we are right. Proof is necessary to justify us; and there is, happily, any amount of it at hand.

In Massachusetts, the free negro population is a little more than three-quarters of one per cent. of the aggregate. With a population of 1,221,464 whites, she has but 9,602 negroes. And no, where have the wrongs of the negro been more emphatically discussed than in this State. The press, the pulpit, and the platform, have all been eloquent in this behalf. And, yet, after the war began, and when all the contingencies of the future had become prominent, Massachusetts, officially, eschewed the increase of the negro element within her borders. It was thus shown, that words were not to be relied on; that it was one thing to talk of negro wrongs, and quite another thing to take negroes by the hand, and hail them as friends and neighbours. And can it for a moment be imagined, that the feeling in Massachusetts, due to less than one per cent. of free negro population, would be modified in favor of the latter, by increasing the ratio to ten per cent? It is only necessary to ask the question, to see how ineffably absurd would be the idea of any such result. Where there is one hate—or to use a milder word—prejudice, in the one case, there would be ten times as many in the other.

Now, we do not find fault with Massachusetts, when we thus put her forward as our illustration of what must take place throughout the land, when the number of free negroes shall be ten times greater than it is at present? Wise and prudent, keen of observation, learning fast from experience, her own or other people's, with schools everywhere, with thrift everywhere, with hospitals and colleges and libraries, and with soldiers, too, that do her honor, Massachusetts has but manifested a matured judgment, formed with all the means of making it a correct one, of the inexpediency, looking to the happiness and prosperity of her people,

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of lessening the present great disparity of numbers between the whites and the negroes within her borders. Massachusetts may love the negro race, as she does, if we believe her orators and poets; but it is at a distance that her affection is the strongest.

So far from holding that Massachusetts is to blame in this respect, we would have her example imitated throughout the land, so far as might be consistent with humanity and the duties that we owe to the negro race; and it is because we firmly believe that it will be imitated, that we are colonizationists. When all the States shall feel as Massachusetts feels, a home for the free negro beyond the sea will be all that can save the race from extirpation; and that home we have prepared in Liberia.

But, while Massachusetts merely protests against the increase of her free negro population from abroad, Indiana, another free State, proud, wise, intelligent and wealthy, brave, too, as the bravest, has gone a step further, and actually taken measures to expel the free negro from her confines.

What will the increase of the free negroes, at the end of the war, or in a comparatively short time afterwards, when all negroes shall be free, do to modify the feeling or the action of Indiana in this regard? Will it cause the repeal of the unkind legislation on her statute book? Will slaves, just freed across the Ohio, in Kentucky, be more welcome in 1865 than they were in 1856? How idle to imagine anything of the kind! On the contrary, unless the war should change humanity, the tendency of circumstances will be to make the legislation of Indiana more severe, rather than more liberal.

We might go on, and refer to New York, where, without law, whites are permitted to exclude negroes from certain employments—to Pennsylvania, where, in Philadelphia, negroes at one time were assailed by mobs—to Ohio, where, in Cincinnati, cannon have been brought into the streets to quell a negro riot. But why multiply illustrations? Surely enough has been said to show that the mere increase of the numbers of the free negroes, after the war, will not operate to remove or lessen the obstacles which now effectually exclude them from social equality with the whites, and threaten to leave them no alternative to extirpation but emigration.

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When the negro race shall be a free race here, wherein will they differ from the Indian race; and why should the destiny of the one be different from that of the other? Will it be because negroes are tillers of the soil, and more docile and more amenable to restraint than the Indians? Why, this very mildness of character will operate against them, when the whites, armed with political power, increase in numbers to such a degree as to produce a strife with negroes for the means of livelihood. Will it be because they are mixed up with us in the same communities, while the Indians have been pushed beyond our borders, and maintained as a separate organization remote from us? Why, this very commingling is another element of weakness, should the anticipated struggle ever arise. Is it because there are more educated men among them than are to be found among the Indians, with more refinement, more civilization, more religion? While the fact here is doubted—for John Ross and the Folsoms, and others, yield to few of any race in information and intelligence—yet, even were it conceded, of what avail will all their qualities be when the question of bread presents itself, as in time it must, to the masses of the population, with whom the negroes will then be intermixed?

On more than one occasion, the speaker has asked, what would have been the fate of the negro, had Ireland, during the famine of 1847, been inhabited by a mixed population of whites and blacks, in the proportions in which they exist in the United States, and entertaining the feelings towards each other there that prevail here? Who can doubt which would have starved? This is a question which will bear repetition. It suggests an illustration that cannot be overlooked by those who, regardless of specious declamation, when the interests of humanity are at stake; are not afraid to face the facts in coming to their conclusions.

But, as the effect of the war, in freeing the slaves, is to operate in the States where slavery exists, it would not do, in the examination we are giving to the subject, to omit these in our discourse. To one of them, Maryland, the speaker has the honor to belong. There are, in Maryland, 83,942 free negroes—more than in any other State of the Union—more than in the two great free States of New York and Ohio, put together. Nearly one-fifth of the free

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negroes of the United States are to be found in this State. In Maryland they have increased to more than twelve per cent. of the entire population, by emancipation, immigration, and births. And in Maryland, with the experience afforded by this large percentage, more has been done for colonization than in all the other States combined. And yet, in Maryland, notwithstanding the kindness which has attracted them from other States, until their numbers have reached the ratio above mentioned, they have been gradually and finally excluded from the ship-yards, from the coal-yards, and from many an old and accustomed calling.

In Maryland the free negro population is already so large, that doubling it by freeing the slaves will not produce so striking a change as where—further South, for instance—the proportion of free negroes is now comparatively small. For years past, free negroes have formed an important portion of the agricultural labor of many counties; and the experiment of working the plantations by hirelings, instead of slaves, has been more than tried. It has become, in fact, a part of the agricultural system of the State. And, without going into the rationale of the fact, at this time, it may be remarked that it has been found necessary, apparently, to make the violation of a free negro contract for hire, on the part of the laborer, a penal offence, instead of leaving it to be punished by a civil action at the suit of the aggrieved party.

That Maryland will, before long, rank as a free State, cannot now be questioned; but there is nothing in her history or experience to make us hope that the increase of free negroes will operate to produce kindlier feelings towards the race than have heretofore existed, and which have not sufficed to make Maryland an exception to the operation of the law of races, that renders the existence of two peoples, which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, in the same land, on a footing of social equality, impossible. Amalgamation, extirpation, or emigration, would seem to be the only alternatives.

Going further South with our examination, it is impossible to imagine that emancipation of the slaves will improve the feelings towards them of their late masters. Compulsory, as the emancipation will be, in the vast majority of cases, the angry feelings which the

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measure will produce, will, certainly, not promote relations there between the races, looking in the direction of social equality. Wherever else this condition might obtain, we know enough of the character and temper of the South to satisfy us that *there*, under any circumstances, it must be hopeless. Generations upon generations would have to elapse, before the ignorant, uneducated slaves of Carolina and Georgia would attain the condition of the free negroes of the North; and, during all this time, the pride, the very nature of the whites, would be in constant revolt against the very idea of social equality.

We have thus gone over the ground for the purpose of showing, that the idea that the increase of the free negro population of the country, assuming that slavery, sooner or later, is to pass away as the result of the war, will benefit the race, elevate the negro to the white man's level, or operate, in any one particular, in his favor, is an illusion—a vain and idle dream.

We will now proceed to show, that instead of enhancing the negro's prospects of social advancement, the war in which we are engaged will impair them; and, in so doing, make colonization, more than ever, a necessity.

And this requires a word or two touching the theory upon which colonization rests. It may be stated, epigrammatically almost, when we say, that colonization rests upon the fact that WHILE THE POPULATION INCREASES, THE LAND DOES NOT.

We learn little new now-a-days. We are living over and over the experience of the past. African colonization is the same as American colonization. The attractions of the new home, the repulsions of the old one, or both combined, have produced all the colonizations that have taken place since the days of Noah.—Where population has been in excess, where religious persecution has prevailed, where distinct races have found it impossible to amalgamate, colonization has depended on repulsion; where gold has tempted, where a spirit of adventure has needed a wider field, attraction has fostered colonization.

To produce the great results of African colonization, the repelling agencies, operating in harmony, will be a redundant population, and the distinction between the white and negro races.

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The speaker has been told by high authority, that, excluding the vast areas on the maps where arid plains alternate with mountains unfit for cultivation, but little land remains, speaking comparatively, that has not been taken up; AND THE LAND DOES NOT INCREASE.

But the population, which was 3,929,827 in 1790, and was 31,445,089 in 1860, will be 100,000,000, in round numbers, at the close of the century, and upwards of 200,000,000, much upwards, in 1930, only three score years and ten, a single lifetime, from to-day. *

Of this teeming, stirring, jostling mass, the negroes, all made free by the war, will form but an inconsiderable part, even though they number millions. Deprived of the protection which they enjoyed as slaves, thrown upon their own resources, the vast majority of them hirelings, and nothing but hirelings, they will be subjected to a competition which the increase of the aggregate of population will render inevitable. The competition that has heretofore been felt by the free negroes in the great cities, only, with the effects we have referred to, will then be felt every where, with none of those alleviations arising from the kindly feelings which, in the slave States, have ever existed towards the race, feelings which, in the slave State of Maryland, go far to account for the accumulation of its immense free negro population.

We are not speaking of to-day or to-morrow, but of a distant period, which is as sure to arrive, however, as is the rising of the sun.

For years, the demand for labor will preserve the freed negro from the consequences here indicated. He did not anticipate, during the revolutionary war, what he has experienced in New York and Indiana within the last twenty years: but in less time than has elapsed since the revolution, will he suffer, if he remains here, not in the cities only, but everywhere, what we foretell.

Without the war, this antagonism of races in the South would have been long postponed. Even then it would have come at last with the increase of population. With peace, and without slavery, it will be at once inaugurated.

* These calculations, long since made and appreciated by colonizationists, have been communicated to Congress by President Lincoln in one of his Messages.

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One thing seems to be conceded in this connection, that white labor will find its way to the South more rapidly than it has yet done. It will be attracted by the demand for it. The Southern climate, the productiveness of the soil, the value of its great staples, and the fact that there being no longer any slaves, free white labor cannot be invidiously compared with, or likened to, slave labor, will all have their effect in producing this result. So long as the owner of land was a slave-owner also, it was his interest to work his land with his slaves. Ceasing to own slaves, and having offered to him a choice between free white labor and negro labor, he will be governed by his interest in choosing between them. The whites will thus be brought into competition with the negroes; and there will soon prevail the same antagonism at the South that exists elsewhere; an antagonism embittered and made intense by the peculiar circumstances that have produced it.

If there be any who assert that this can never be, because the necessity for negro labor, to produce the great Southern staples, will make the negro a necessity there, and secure for him better treatment as a hireling than he has received as a slave, it may be replied, that this is by no means certain. The assertion has been repeated a million times that cotton could only be produced by associated negro labor; and this, too, by those, who, being planters, might be supposed to know. But not one of them ever tried the experiment under circumstances that made the result reliable. The white laborer has always heretofore had a choice of toil, and has chosen that which was most agreeable to him, and has kept away from fields in which slaves were fellow-workers. But this cannot be so always; and it is the speaker's firm belief, founded on many years of careful observation, that when the necessity for it arises, cotton, not here and there, but universally, will be grown by white men. That the war will hasten the coming of this time, to the destruction of the *prestige* of negro labor in this direction, admits of little question.

In the many addresses which the speaker has been called upon to deliver in the last thirty years, he has always anticipated the time when, through the operation of natural causes, at the instance

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of the owners of slaves, prompted by their own interest, slavery would cease, and America would be inhabited by an homogenous population of white men; and he clung to this theory the more, perhaps, because it was a pleasant one, involving no painful disruption of old ties of affection, which were independent of color or race, causing neither loss nor suffering, leaving the old, when their days of labor were over, to die in their beds, in comfort, and opening to the young and adventurous a field of honorable ambition in the land from whence their fathers came. It was a theory that looked to the oozing, as it were, from amongst us, slowly, but certainly, in the course of generations, of the whole negro race.

But the war, from present appearances, at least, ends the theory referred to, in many of its aspects, and certainly not to the comfort of the negro.

We cannot close our remarks without a word in reply to those who insist that the sad losses of the present contest, in human life, will of themselves give to negro labor a value that will operate to elevate the race, and bring them nearer to social equality, if it does not establish them upon that footing; and that this effect will be enhanced by the fact that the negro is now made a soldier, and is uniting with the whites in sustaining the Union so prized and so cherished.

This is but a narrow view of the matter. There is, already, a foreign immigration, the *avant courier* of a still greater, which is filling our numbers, not of the army, but of the people, as fast as war is depleting them. The ordinary immigration of past years, which has been felt in maintaining that uniform ratio of increase which enables us to fix the population of the country, at any given period in the future, has been increased by the war, and the demand for labor, and the high price of wages due to it. That the census of 1870 will show the same ratio for the preceding decade that has been shown by the census of 1860, for that then closed, can scarcely be questioned.

And this immigration! Ask the free negro what he thinks of it. Who hung him to the lamp-posts in New York, and kindled fires under his body as he swung there, before suffocation came to rescue him from torture? Who have ever been the bitterest ene-

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mies of the negro? Who but the foreign emigrant. It is not from this quarter that he can hope for assistance in realizing his vain and idle dream of social equality—nor even the more reasonable, but still impracticable expectation of an equal division of industrial occupations.

But then he has been a soldier! Well; will he be treated better, on that account, than the learned and refined men, negroes, who for the last thirty years have illustrated the capacity of the race to take an honorable rank in Science, Literature and Art, to conduct the affairs of government in Liberia with ability and reputation. Will the soldier who has survived the war, and attained some smaller rank, perhaps, be better received in society, or be recognized as having done more to elevate his race, than Crummell, and Blyden, and Roberts, and Russwurm, and Benson, and McGill. There is no reason why he should be. There are many reasons why he should not; reasons unnecessary to enumerate, as they suggest themselves naturally. "They employ us as porters, but do not employ us as clerks," said a most intelligent and accomplished negro in New York, when speaking, not many years ago, of some loud-voiced friends. It can hardly be hoped that the war will open the doors of the counting houses to the race, after they have so long been closed against commercial intelligence and clerical capacity, because their possessors were negroes.

No! the war will not change, for the better, one feeling, or modify one principle, for the negro's advancement in the social scale. On the contrary, he will find when it is over, that where he had before one motive for emigration, he will then have two.

War! why, it softens none of us. Its tendency is the reverse. Even now, we are as the spectators at Spanish bull fights, whose satisfaction is in proportion to the slaughter that distinguishes the spectacle. Years since, a steamboat explosion on the western waters, accompanied with the loss of some score of lives, caused a thrill that pervaded the country, and draped the newspapers that first announced it in mourning. Now, we consult the list of killed and wounded to determine the importance of a victory, and are disappointed at successes whose misfortune it is to be bloodless! We do not acknowledge this; we hope it is not so. But the fact

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is not changed by our silence or our hopes. And the negro, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, will find himself less thought of, and of less consideration, with his whole race free, than when a part of it was in bondage.

He doubts us, we well know, when we speak in this way—we who have, as Colonizationists, recognized his ability, made him the governor of our colonies, the professor in our colleges, and entrusted him with thousands and tens of thousands of dollars, when our only security was in his honesty and truth; we, who, while we rejoice in his freedom, are still the friends who proclaim to him his fate if he remains here.

And whence does he derive the hopes that retain him in America? From the press, the pulpit, and the platform. But what do they know of his troubles and difficulties? Neither the orators nor writers, nor their hearers or readers, ever meet with the negro in the walks where he is striving for bread. What effect has the most eloquent oration ever delivered in his behalf upon the hungry whites, who, with every one a vote, insist that negro waiters shall no longer be employed in a fashionable hotel. What effect has the most vigorous article ever penned upon the gang of laborers who, rioting along the wharves, drive off the negro stevedores? Was the negro to be seen working with whites in manufactories at alternate benches, associating with the laboring class of white men in the streets, there would be far more reason to hope for his social advancement than can fairly be derived from all that the press, the platform, or the pulpit has ever said in reference to negro wrongs. They have caused negroes to be seen at anniversary meetings, scattered here and there through the audience—the *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, of the poet—but as to any permanent effect produced by them upon those on whom the negro's comfort depends, it has been less than nothing—it has been worse than nothing; for the white man, the poor man, has felt himself neglected for the negro, and has hated the latter for the prominence that has been given to him.

As Colonizationists, we deal with the negro question as it is presented to us. We have prepared a home to which the negro can escape when he becomes satisfied that the evil day is at hand.

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We compel none to go to Liberia. Not every one is fit to go, or ought to be received there. That it is a land flowing with milk and honey—that the emigrant will not have to encounter difficulties and submit to privations there—we have never pretended to assert. But we have always said, what we now repeat, that it is a land where labor will meet a fair reward in the cultivation of a fertile soil, where there is a wide field for commercial enterprise, where negroes have established, and now maintain with honor, a government, republican in form, and recognized by the leading nations of the world; and where it is our assured belief that an emigration, voluntary and self-paying—just such an emigration as brings the European to our shores—will, in the inevitable course of human events, build up a great nation, vindicating, in its own prosperity, and in the Christianizing of Africa, the ways of God towards man.

Such have been the views of Colonizationists heretofore. Confessedly incompetent, with any means at their command, to transport the free people of color, or any considerable portion of them, to Africa, even before the war, infinitely absurd would be the idea that, when all shall be free, of the negro race, they would be able to do so. But, blessed by Him who liveth and reigneth, their feeble strength and limited means have founded Liberia, and have made it, and will be able to continue to make it, sufficiently attractive, to cause, when combined with the pressure of increasing population here, the exodus, in time, of the whole negro race from amongst us.

We are weak, very weak; we, the friends of Colonization! But mighty agencies (this very war not the least of them) are at work to vindicate the wisdom of the founders of our Society. Time and circumstances are our great auxiliaries; and upon these we depend. Nor do we doubt that the day will come, when, on the coast of Africa, the thanks of grateful millions will be rendered to even the humblest of those who have wrought in the great cause of African Colonization.

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ADDRESS OF LEWIS H. WHEELER, Esq.

MR. PRESIDENT: In this almost ultra philanthropic age, that philanthropy which grasps within the range of its object the interests of a nation—a continent—the whole world—deserves at the hands of thinking men more careful attention and investigation than the less comprehensive efforts of those who seek only the benefit of a small community or a particular section. Do not understand me to say that the magnitude of the scheme of the American Colonization Society in striving to create a new nation and elevate a race to be fit citizens of that nation, is a matter of more self-interest to every person present than the efforts which may be made to benefit the inhabitants of the community in which each individual lives. The one is the progress and support of a nation, the other the benefit of a few individuals. The one is the grandest scheme the world ever saw, the other is a minor undertaking, in which we may each be personally or selfishly interested. I mean to say that the subject of African Colonization demands more careful study and more profound investigation than the usual philanthropic undertakings of the day, because the one affects the civilization of a continent, the support and individuality of a nation; the other the wants of a particular section.

It is proposed to conquer the barbarism of Africa by means of a nation which shall take its stand as peer of the other nations of the civilized world, which shall open up to civilization the vast, the illimitable wealth and resources of a continent containing an area of three million more square miles than the whole of North America, and a population, civilized, semi-civilized and savage, of more than double the number of our own continent. Is not this a project of magnitude? Are not its magnificent proportions sufficient to arrest the attention of the world? Can this be comprehended and investigated in one evening—in one day—in one year?

The magnificence, the grandeur of the project was worthy of the men who first started it; the very men who built and sustained the magnificent architecture of the temple of our own Government.

The founders of the American Colonization Society knew the truth of the saying, that "Rome was not built in a day." They were content with planting the acorn from which they believed the

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oak would grow. That oak is now a vigorous sapling. The nation from which these great and glorious results are anticipated is in existence. It has its independence, its laws, its constitution, its recognition, by other nations. Behold it in the infant Republic of Liberia! Infant, I say: Liberia has had her separate, independent existence for nearly quarter as long as we have had ours. A nation of seventeen years' existence is an infant, but for forty-eight years the embryo and the existing nation of Liberia, have been watched over, fostered and directed by the Society which I have the honor to address this evening.

Our own national troubles, at this time more than ever before, urge us to examine the condition of the colored race in our midst, and to do for them what we wisely, calmly and judiciously think may be best. The recent action of our National Executive, the continued progress of the war by which we are now distracted, indicate that we shall soon have on our hands a much larger number of colored people than we now have; provision must be made for them at once; hungry mouths and naked backs do not admit of delay and discussion.

The vast majority of the freedmen, I think I may say without fear of contradiction, are not fit for citizenship in such a Republic as ours. Slaves, the offspring of generations of slaves, of savage ancestry, notoriously the most ferocious and inhuman of savages, can we expect them at one step or for many generations to be the peers of the Anglo-Saxon—the Anglo-Saxon, who for generations and centuries has stood before all the world as the leader in civilization, in Christianity, in progress and refinement. One might as well harness the cart-horse with the full-blooded racer; generations of careful training might make the cart-horse a passable racer, and generations of weary plodding in the cart might compel the fine and sinewy limbs of the racer to perform good labor in the cart, but each distinct blood is antagonistic to the other.

It is to be regretted that various ephemeral schemes of colonization have appeared and found advocates among those hot-blooded philanthropists who would reap a crop without sowing the seed, or waiting to watch the growth of the blade, the ear, and the full corn in the ear. Each of these plans have opposed themselves to the

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American Colonization Society, some from the petty self-interest or ambition of their projectors, others from the headlong and ruinous haste in the management of public affairs with which an American education is apt to impregnate a naturally hasty temperament. Each has ended in failure.—Hayti, Venezuela, Central America, and other schemes of minor importance. Each has been held up as offering great inducements to the colored man to emigrate.

The first is a country overrun by Spanish soldiers, and in a continued state of war, which has never recovered from the bloody massacre which endeavored to overthrow in a day a complete system of labor and national policy; a revolution which conceded no worth or wisdom to the oppressor, while it insisted that all valor, wisdom and patriotism was in the oppressed.

The second is a country inhabited by a degenerate race of mixed blood, jealous of their national existence, without energy to develop their own national resources, and without wisdom enough to welcome colonists who might benefit them by bringing industrial capital into their midst.

The third, a country the most unhealthy and malarious of all the tropics; its sanitary condition being at once manifest to a thinking mind, from a glance at its geographical location, a narrow strip of land on the Equator, bounded on either side by a vast ocean, over which the hot breeze of the meridian blows from January to January; a country where no uplands or mountainous districts bring that change of temperature which is essential to the life and progress of every race.

To all three of these colonization schemes the same fatal objection is open. Hayti, Venezuela and Central America differ in language, in religion, and in laws, from the country in which our own colored men have been educated.

Would you transplant a black man to make him learn French or Spanish in addition to the difficulties he must of course encounter from the very fact of his emigration? Would you send him to a strange land to learn a new creed, or a different dogma of religion? Liberia offers to him the same language, the same religion, the same customs, and the same laws which he has known from boyhood.

Before our nation had an existence as a nation, the ancestors of

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the colored men in our midst were brought from Africa by our fathers; to Africa they ought to be returned. It is a debt which the posterity of the one race owes to the posterity of the other. But the American Colonization Society proposes to pay Africa more than the mere principal of this debt; it proposes to pay interest, compounded and doubly compounded; the grandest, the most momentous of its objects is the civilization of the whole continent of Africa. This object can only be insured by the establishment, on a sure basis, of a civilized and Christainized nation within her borders, which shall gradually work it out by the slow but sure antagonism which civilization offers to barbarism.

But it is said that self-interest is the great mainspring by which nations or individuals are induced to act. Let us, then, look for a moment at what self-interest induces us to do in this matter. This question, no doubt, entered early into the minds of the men who founded this Society. The fact that they were most of them slave-owners or inhabitants of slave States, adds greatly to the weight of their opinions. They planned, they thought, and they acted before the day when their minds could be biased or warped by the hasty and hot-blooded crimination and re-crimination on the subject of African slavery, which has been so prominent an element in our more modern politics. The antagonism of races was seen by the fathers of this Society as clearly as it is at this day, after a much wider discussion. All men on the continent of North America who have entered into the discussion at all, agree as to the antagonism of races; they differ as to the mode in which this antagonism is to be overcome. Some say by making one race entirely subject to the other; by far the larger part say by colonization; an isolated few say by amalgamation.

Whatever may be the theories of the universal brotherhood of man it will, nevertheless, be admitted that what each of us learned in the rudiments of geography is true, that the earth is inhabited by various distinct races; and however extraordinary may be the exceptions which now and then arise, I venture to say, that there are no two races possessed of more opposite characteristics than the Anglo-Saxon and the African. Differing in physical character, they necessarily differ otherwise. The one thrives, improves, and in-

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creases in a cold climate and with an ungrateful soil, but degenerates in a hot country where a warm, rich soil gives support almost without the labor of cultivation. The other becomes pinched in a cold climate, and dies out in a few generations, while in the tropics, his prosperity and rapid growth show him to be as indigenous as the coffee or the palm tree. The Anglo-Saxon is thrifty, careful, and laborious; the African is less thrifty, less pains-taking, and less inclined to labor. Place either in a climate, where he is obliged to exercise faculties foreign to the character of the race to which he belongs, and he will degenerate or die. The history of the world, and of the different races of men, proves this conclusively.

Admitting, then, the antagonism of races, the question of our own self interest seems an easy one. The theory of the entire subjection of one race to the other has been tried since our earliest colonial existence; its result speaks for itself. In examining the theory of amalgamation, we at once arrive at a foregone conclusion. It is a well established physical fact that a few generations of mixed Africans and Caucassians will not even propagate themselves. The laws of nature forbid this theory at its outset.

The various plans of Colonization we have now to discuss.

The American Colonization Society offers to you, to night, no ephemeral scheme; it is a plan, matured in its inception, by the best and wisest men of the country. Forty-eight years have tried it; forty-eight years of advancement; forty-eight years of continued progress; forty-eight years of constantly increasing benefit to those colored men who have embraced its offers. In Liberia, the colored man can exercise all the rights of citizenship, and is untrammelled by conventionalities, or the deep-rooted prejudices of a race of superior civilization. Here, his status is, to say the least, uncertain. Decided by the Supreme Court of the nation not to possess even the right of citizenship; confessed by the most profound thinkers of our land to be unprofitable as a laborer in a grain-growing State when competing with white labor; repudiated and cast out by the North, and held in subjection by the South, where is his refuge, except in his own country, and among his own kindred? And what a refuge Liberia affords him! a land flowing

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with milk and honey, promising wealth, abundance, and progress in civilization to him and his posterity, so long as he will use, and not abuse, the gifts with which the God of nature has so bountifully endowed all tropical countries.

The recent African explorations, by European travellers, are most marvellous in their results, bringing to the notice of the civilized world facts almost incredible. American or European travellers cannot, without great risk of life, explore this vast continent; this continent, which every one can remember as being marked "an unexplored region" on the maps of our school-boy days. "An unexplored region!" How vast the teeming wealth of its mineral, vegetable, and animal productions! What a hoard of now unproductive and unused treasure it would pour into the world's treasury, were its resources developed by a civilized nation! With this fact in view, it was proposed, some years since, by the comprehensive mind of Professor Agassiz, to educate colored men especially for the purpose of conducting these explorations, for the benefit of the civilized world. Agassiz perceived, as every man of intelligence must, that white men who accomplish much, either in the civilization or the exploration of Africa, are the exception, and not the rule. And, here, I will read a few lines from the admirable pamphlet of Mr. Ralston, Consul General from Liberia to England, touching upon the sanitary condition of the country.

"The climate of Liberia is warm, (the latitude of Monrovia is only 6.19 north of the equator,) but equable, and tempered by frequent rains and daily sea breezes. The year is divided into but two portions, known as the rainy season and the dry season. The rainy time commences the middle of May, and the dry season commences the middle of November. It should, however, be understood that this absolute distinction is in some measure to be qualified, as there are rainy days, and clear, pleasant days, in every month of the year. The dry season is the warmest, and January is the hottest month in the year—the average height of the thermometer usually being about 75 deg. The negroes from the United States do not find the heat oppressive at any season. It is a mysterious and unaccountable fact, that the climate that is fatal to the whites, is not only innoxious, but is congenial to the blacks. This is a benevolent provision of Providence. If white men could have lived in Africa, within the tropics, the whole continent would doubtless long since have been subjected, like America, to the domination of rulers of European origin, which has resulted in the extirpation of the aborigines. Many attempts

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have been made by different nations—Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Danes, and Swedes—to establish settlements of white colonies on various inter-tropical portions of the African coast, and all have failed from the same cause—the deadly nature of the climate. Yet, at Sierra Leone and Liberia, colored men, whose ancestors for two hundred years had resided within the temperate zone, find the climate salubrious, and live as long as others of the race in America. All immigrants, however, have to pass, shortly after their arrival, through what is called the acclimatising fever. It is a bilious remittent fever, which usually passes into the intermittent form. The first settlers suffered severely from this disease, but now that its treatment is better understood, and the proper accommodation and attendance is provided, it has ceased to be so much dreaded as formerly. Two or three deaths usually happen out of every one hundred emigrants who arrive, but it is observed that the fatal cases are almost always those of persons who were previously in bad health, or who neglected the simple precautions which are prescribed for new comers. In many cases, on the other hand, the immigrants find their health improved by the change of country. It is a remarkable fact that foreigners may visit this coast, and land at six or eight o'clock in the morning and remain on shore all day, until six or eight o'clock p. m., with perfect exemption from coast fever, if they only are careful to sleep on board ship at night. It seems that African fever is contracted principally while asleep, or while exposed to the miasma, which appears to be more noxious during night. There are numerous cases of foreigners being detained on shore at night, and for several nights at a time, who shut themselves up in a close room, with a little fire to expel dampness, and who escape entirely all deleterious effects of climate, except a little lassitude for a day or two."

This statement of a gentleman of intelligence and experience shows how greatly exaggerated are the generally received reports of the effect and character of the African fever. With the use of proper precautions, it is fatal in scarcely one case in a hundred. And I do not hesitate to say that, within the knowledge of our present generation, it will cease to be a bugbear in the way of African Colonization.

Mr. President; Liberia stands before you to-day, not as a suppliant, but as a nation, civilized, progressive, Christian, needing none of the aid of this Society to keep her alive, or to insure her growth. For the fostering care which this Society has exercised, and for the interest in her national growth it continues to exercise, she is grateful; but it is to ourselves, and our own colored people, that this Society is now chiefly beneficial. Its success, and en-

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larged means for carrying on the work of colonization, is vitally important to us and to our posterity. The nation of Liberia is recognized by the chief nations of the earth. She has entered into treaties of amity with them. She has her schools, her colleges, her seminaries. Her seventeen years of history as a nation, and her forty-eight years of care and protection by this Society, will compare most favorably with the same period in the early history of our own colonies. Indeed, our colonies suffered from the want of the same wise care which this Society has bestowed upon Liberia. Her miles of sea-coast; her progress inland, subduing the savage tribes by the steady march of civilization, and by the strong arm of well-administered law; her rapidly increasing wealth, in all articles of foreign export, render her more than self-sustaining, as every year's report of her financial condition will show.

Compare her with Sierra Leone, the neighboring English colony, which is many years older than Liberia, and which has always been, and still is, governed by white men, as one of the colonial dependencies of Great Britain. Where millions of pounds sterling have been spent by the British Government upon Sierra Leone, this Society has expended thousands of dollars, and our national Government not one cent upon Liberia—if we except the small amount paid for the expenses of the recaptured Africans taken from slavers by our Government and landed in Liberia. The capacity, the energy, and the power of the Republic of Liberia was never more conclusively proved to the world than in the way she received and provided for these destitute savages, amounting to some thousands in number, which the cruelties of the slave trade so unexpectedly threw upon her charity.

The evidence of the rapidly progressing civilization which she opposes to the barbarism of Africa, is most strikingly seen in the fact that the principal men in the neighboring savage tribes send their children to be educated at the Liberian schools, knowing that the acquisition of the English language, and modes of carrying on mercantile transactions, will greatly aid their ability to prosecute successfully the traffic with European nations, by which the native kings obtain their wealth. These children, educated in Liberia,

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carry to the interior civilization in the best and speediest manner which could be devised.

How can we, then, do otherwise than trust in an all-gracious Providence, that the Republic of Liberia may be a powerful instrument in His hands, by which Ethiopia may be taught to stretch forth her hands unto God, and all the ends of the earth may fear Him.

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ADDRESS OF REV. P. D. GURLEY, D. D.

MR. PRESIDENT: When an honorable member of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society called upon me a few days ago to ask the use of the New York Avenue Church for your anniversary exercises, he, at the same time, requested that on this occasion I should say a few words in favor of the cause. I promised to do so; not to make a speech, but briefly to add my testimony to that of other speakers on behalf of African Colonization. I stand here to redeem that promise; and for the sake of brevity and precision, I have reduced what I wish to say to writing.

Though the Colonization Society is merely a voluntary association, and though it has had to labor with many difficulties growing out of misapprehension and prejudice, still it can boast of achievements which are enough to silence its enemies and fill the hearts of its friends and supporters with gratitude and joy. What has it done?

1. In the first place, it has opened an asylum for the free people of color, to which they may go and enjoy all the rights and immunities of freemen indeed. There stands Liberia—the fruit of Colonization—on the Western coast of Africa, the only bright spot of any considerable magnitude, save one, on the whole of that dark, dark continent. There is a republican government modeled after our own. There are schools, and churches, and temperance societies, and newspapers, and agriculture, and the mechanical arts, and a legitimate commerce. There are legislative assemblies, and wholesome laws, and courts and officers of justice, and all the elements of an advanced civilization—all the agencies that usually accompany and promote true national growth and prosperity. There are several thousand persons, the most of whom were once in bondage, removed from this country, and organized into thriving communities.

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They are, for the most part, moral and religious. Perhaps a greater proportion of them are members of some Christian church than in any other community of equal dimensions in the world. So much has been done ; and if this were all, it would be enough to vindicate the cause of African Colonization, and commend it to the hearty approbation of all benevolent men. Yes, while the enemies of this scheme have been caviling, and gravely doubting the possibility of establishing *one* colony, behold a *constellation* of colonies has arisen, star by star, and shed its light along the dreary coast, reminding us of the words of the prophet, and renewing their fulfilment—"The people which sat in darkness saw great light ; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up." There, I repeat it, has been opened a blessed asylum for the free colored people of this country. *Here* they lie under political and social disadvantages ; *there* they are organized into an independent empire of their own. They are stimulated to improvement by everything around them ; they are inspired by all laudable motives of ambition, and effectually aroused to that energy, determination and hope which are indispensable to their advancement, and which we are persuaded they will never put forth while they remain in this country. The fact that we can now take our colored brethren by the hand, and encourage their hearts and hopes with the assurance that there is one spot in the world where they can become a great, and powerful, and independent nation, all this we owe to Colonization.

2. Secondly : Colonization has done more for the suppression of the slave trade than all the united navies of the world. The history of all the efforts which have been made by armed forces to arrest the progress of this inhuman traffic, is full of defeat and discouragement. It is now, we think, generally admitted that the slave trade can never be arrested and abolished by the efforts of men-of-war, however earnest, and strong, and vigilant they may be ; and that the only hope of effectually doing this great work is by planting colonies along the coast, operating upon the minds of the natives themselves, inducing them to abandon their trade in men, with the view of engaging in lawful commerce, and thus effectually cutting off the *supply* of slaves. Now, this is just what our colonies in Liberia have done all along the coast, wherever their influence extends. Yes, it

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is a fact that Liberia has suppressed the slave trade for hundreds of miles (700) along the seaboard ; and whereas that whole region was little less than a storehouse and an outlet for slaves, before it was occupied by Christian colonies, it may be fairly estimated that, through their instrumentality, at least twenty thousand Africans are kept back from slavery every year. This is no small achievement, and, it seems to me, it should endear the cause of African Colonization to every philanthropic heart.

3. Again : As a means of carrying the blessings of Christianity to the 150,000,000 of heathen on the continent of Africa, Colonization seems to be our best and only hope. What has ever been done for Africa apart from Colonization ? Very little indeed. The missionaries have either died in a short time, or been driven from the country by the severity of the climate, or else they have fallen an early sacrifice to the barbarity of its inhabitants. The climate is fatal to the white man. He cannot endure it. And if the enterprise of kindling the lights of civilization and Christianity in every part of that dark continent is to depend upon him, *it must* fail. If Africa is ever to be redeemed, it must be through the instrumentality of colored men. This seems to be a settled question. But how are even colored men to operate in that country against the combined influence of war, plunder, cannibalism, and the slave-trade ? Can they accomplish much single-handed and alone ? Certainly not. If they would do good in Africa, they must go together, and in such numbers as to form an organization strong enough for the purposes of self-defence. Rely upon it, all past experience proves that *colonies of colored people* are the only means whereby the blessings of the Christian religion can be carried to the benighted millions of Africa. By a close and critical historical examination, made within the last twenty years, it has been demonstrated that Roman Catholic missions for three centuries, and Protestant missions for one century past, *disconnected with civilized colonies on the coast*, have been an utter failure. This examination has also shown that Colonization has had the most marked and marvelous influence in protecting and sustaining Christian missions. Indeed, it has been their great safeguard and defence, and is now regarded by those who have carefully attended to the subject as the only medium

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through which they can extend their redeeming power over the continent, and usher in the day when "princes shall come out of Egypt, and Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God."

We bless God, then, for Liberia; for what it has done and promises to do for the free man of color; for what it has done and promises to do for the suppression of the slave trade; for what it has done and promises to do for Christian missions, and, through them, for the complete redemption of Africa. Its various benevolent bearings, and what it has actually accomplished for the cause of God and humanity, give it a strong and unquestionable claim upon our sympathy and assistance, our confidence and prayers; and unless I greatly mistake the signs of the times, as connected with current and coming events in our own beloved and bleeding country, they point to a day near at hand when Liberia and African Colonization will assume an importance in the estimation of the American people such as they never had before; and when thousands now indifferent to their claims, or disposed to call them in question, will confess their mistake, and admire, as we do, the wisdom that devised so blessed a scheme for the deliverance of a suffering people and a suffering continent from the pressure of darkness and sorrow.

I will only add in conclusion, that, in my humble judgment, the success that has attended the Colonization enterprise, considering the feebleness of its means, and the scantiness of its resources, is one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world. The smile of Heaven evidently has rested upon it from the beginning and rests upon it still. I have no doubt of its complete success. I believe the colonies planted on the Western coast of Africa are but the opening of a house of refuge to which thousands and tens of thousands of the colored people of this land and of other lands will yet be seen fleeing every year with gratitude and gladness, hailing it as their surest retreat and their most inviting home. I believe that the little State of Liberia is but the germ of a great and glorious Republic, which will carry light and liberty, and blessing to benighted and down-trodden millions over whom it will extend its peaceful sway. Nay more: I believe African Colonization is to be very conspicuous among the distinguishing events of the nineteenth century, and that when the future historian shall write the history

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of the age in which we live, among the brightest pages in all the record will be that which chronicles the achievements of that blessed, blessed enterprise we are this evening endeavoring to promote.

I will also add, Mr. President, that when the slavery question shall have been solved, and solved, it may be, in blood, *the negro question will remain*: and when an anxious and an agitated people shall seek the solution of *that* question, they will find it—where? *In the blessed work of this Society.* The free and prosperous Republic of Liberia will then be hailed with gratitude and gladness as the true solution of the difficult and perilous problem, and thenceforth the memory of the men who founded that Republic and of the friends who fostered it in its days of darkness and trial, will be precious, very precious. The friends of God and humanity everywhere will give thanks for their work of faith and labor of love, and coming generations of every clime and color will arise and call them blessed.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,
JANUARY, 1864.

WASHINGTON CITY, *January 19, 1864.*

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met this day at 12 o'clock, M., in the rooms of the Society, corner of Pennsylvania avenue and 4½ street.

The President of the Society, Hon. JOHN H. B. LATROBE, called the Board to order; and the Rev. JOHN MACLEAN, D. D., offered prayer.

The Board, in compliance with the seventh article of the By-Laws, proceeded to the selection of a Secretary, and on motion of Rev. JOHN MACLEAN, D. D., Mr. WILLIAM COPPINGER was re-appointed.

The President appointed Rev. Joseph Tracy, D. D., Rev. F. Butler, and William V. Pettit, Esq., a Committee on Credentials; who subsequently reported the subjoined named Delegates for the present year:

Delegates for 1864.

Maine.—Rev. Franklin Butler, Hiram O. Alden, Esq.*

New Hampshire.—Hon. Onslow Stearns.

Vermont.—George W. Scott, Esq., Rev. J. K. Converse.*

Massachusetts.—Hon. G. Washington Warren, Joseph S. Ropes, Esq.

* Not present.

 Delegates—Life Directors.

Connecticut.—Hon. Samuel H. Huntington, Hon. Ebenezer Flower,* Gen. E. A. Elliot, George E. Elliot, Esq., W. W. Wakeman, Esq.,* S. S. Ward, Esq.*

New York.—Hon. D. S. Gregory.

New Jersey.—Dr. L. A. Smith.*

Pennsylvania.—William V. Pettit, Esq., William Coppinger.

Life Directors.

Rev. John B. Pinney, Rev. William McLain, D. D., Rev. John Maclean, D. D., James Hall, M. D., Rev. R. R. Gurley, John P. Crozer, Esq., Rev. John Orcutt, D. D., Rev. Joseph Tracy, D. D.

Executive Committee.

Dr. H. Lindsly, William Gunton, Esq., Rev. George W. Samson, D. D., Hon. Peter Parker, Hon. Samuel H. Huntington, Hon. John B. Kerr.

On motion of Rev. J. B. Pinney, it was

Resolved, That the report of the Committee on Credentials be accepted.

The Corresponding Secretary of the Society read the minutes of the last meeting of the Board of Directors.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley, as Corresponding Secretary, presented and read the Annual Report of the Society.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report be accepted, and that so much as related to Finances, Auxiliary Societies, Agencies, Accounts, and Emigration, be referred to the several standing Committees in charge of those subjects respectively.

The Rev. W. McLain, D. D., as Financial Secretary of the Society, presented and read the Annual Statement of the Executive Committee of the Society.

• On motion of the Financial Secretary, it was

 Appointment of Standing Committees.

Resolved, That the topics embraced in the statement of the Executive Committee be referred, as follows :

SUBJECT.	COMMITTEE.
U. S. Government and Colonization.....	Foreign Relations.
Expeditions to Liberia.	} Emigration.
Offer to the African Civilization Society....	
Colonization Building.....	} .. Finance.
Stocks, Bonds, &c.....	
Land in Illinois.....	
Will Cases.....	
Legacies	} Accounts.
Treasurer's Report.....	
General Accounts.....	
Report and Account of Dr. Hall, as Agent of ship Mary Caroline Stevens.....	

The following are the Standing Committees, as appointed by the President :

<i>Foreign Relations</i>	{ Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Gen. E. A. Elliot, Dr. James Hall.
<i>Finance</i>	{ Hon. D. S. Gregory, Rev. Joseph Tracy, D. D., W. W. Wakeman, Esq.
<i>Auxiliary Societies</i>	{ John P. Crozer, Esq., Rev. John Orcutt, D. D.
<i>Agencies</i>	{ Hon. G. Washington Warren, Hon. S. H. Huntington, Onslow Stearns, Esq.
<i>Accounts</i>	{ Joseph S. Ropes, Esq., Rev. John B. Pinney, George E. Elliot, Esq.
<i>Emigration</i>	{ William V. Pettit, Esq., George W. Scott, Esq., Rev. Franklin Butler.

Rev. J. Maclean, D. D., from the special Committee appointed at the last session of the Board, in relation to the call of the Liberia Government for certain accounts of the Society's Agents in Liberia, presented and read a report, which, on motion, was accepted, and the accompanying resolutions were laid over for further consideration.

 Report of Rev. Franklin Butler.

The following, on motion of Rev. J. B. Pinney, was unanimously adopted, viz :

Whereas; Questions as to the North-west boundary of Liberia have been raised on the part of some foreign Governments, and the future peace and strength of the Republic are deeply concerned in the settlement of these questions; and *Whereas*, this Society, having raised a fund of over thirty thousand dollars, to purchase for Liberia the native title to the coast as far North-west as Shebar, cannot but feel an earnest desire to have the just claim, thus fairly purchased, secured for the Republic; therefore,

Resolved, That this subject be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations for consideration and report at this session of the Board.

Rev. Franklin Butler, Agent of the Society for several of the New England States, presented and read his report of Agency labors during the year; which was referred to the Committee on Agencies :

To the Board of Directors of the Am. Col. Society :

The receipts from my district (exclusive of \$400 donated to Professor M. H. Freetmar,) are about \$3,000, (three thousand dollars,) a portion of which is from legacies—a small sum, in view of the magnitude and importance of our cause, yet larger than we feared at the beginning of the year—large enough to show that a deep and abiding interest pervades the mind of some good people, and that our labor is not “in vain in the Lord.”

The donations have come chiefly in small sums, by private solicitation. Opposition to our work has nearly ceased. The conviction that some good has been accomplished is almost universal, yet, by reason of a want of knowledge of our legitimate sphere and object, and of the temporary prominence of some works of charity and humanity peculiar to the times, the public interest in Liberian Colonization has not been so lively as we could wish. Sufficient interest, however, exists to secure cordial reception of the messenger of this Society by many, if not most, clergymen and benevolent people. A greater number of emigrants appealing for aid, and clearer views of the magnitude and importance of our work in Africa, would doubtless touch more forcibly the springs of benevolence.

Besides the occasional labors of the excellent secretary of the Vermont Auxiliary, (Rev. J. K. Converse,) I have been assisted for a short time by

 Report of Dr. James Hall.

Martin H. Freeman, Professor elect in Liberia College. His addresses were listened to with profound interest, and they will no doubt result in good.

Of my own labors, I may say, I have done what I could—preaching on the Sabbath—soliciting during the week—in person, by correspondence and communications through the press—aiming to sow good seed that will not fail of the fruitful harvest.

Each State Society in my field is in good working order, managed by men in lively sympathy with the spirit and object of the founders of our enterprise. It remains for us now to pursue steadily the path marked for us by the wise men of 1816, in the faith of him who said he knew "that the scheme is from God."

Respectfully submitted,

FRANKLIN BUTLER,

Washington, Jan. 19, 1864.

Agent for Northern N. E.

Hon. S. H. Huntington presented and read several resolutions, which were, on motion, referred to the Standing Committee on Foreign Relations.

On motion, the Board adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow.

Washington City, January 20th, 1864.

The Board met this morning, at the Society's rooms, pursuant to adjournment; President Latrobe in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. J. Tracy, D. D.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings were read and approved.

On motion of Rev. J. Tracy, D. D., it was

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

Messrs. Tracy, Maclean, and Gregory were appointed.

The report of Dr. James Hall, as Agent of the ship Mary Caroline Stevens, was submitted and read; and on motion, was referred to the Committee on Accounts, as follows:

To the President and Board of Directors

of the American Colonization Society, in session:

GENTLEMEN: It becomes my duty to lay before you a statement of the operations of the ship M. C. Stevens, the past year, together with my accounts as your Agent of her disbursements and earnings

Report of Dr. James Hall.

during that period. From the knowledge you all have of the extremely limited operations of the Society, you are doubtless prepared to anticipate no very favorable report, and I am forced to say you will not be disappointed. It is the more painful to make up this report and the accompanying accounts, as it follows the one submitted to you at our last Annual Meeting, covering eighteen months' service of the ship, out of her regular business, made with a hope of realizing a profit, in which we were disappointed.

It will be recollected that the summing up of the freighting operations referred to, showed a loss of some five hundred dollars as the accounts stood, but that there was really a gain, as the ship was put in the best possible condition for future service, at St. Thomas, her last port of discharge, rendering very little outlay necessary the past year. But a fact transpired soon after closing my last report, which shows that the voyage resulted not only in the improved condition of the ship, but in an actual gain, by the excess of her earnings over her expenditures.

During the summer of 1862, when it was probable that the ship would be in port in season for the fall expedition, it was determined by the Executive Committee and the various Agents of the Society that she should resume her regular trips, however slight the prospect of emigrants and freight. Every effort was made by your Agent to secure the latter, and by the several Agents of the Society the former; but partial success crowned the efforts of all, and the ship left port with less than one-sixth of her complement of emigrants, and about one-third freighted, in lumber, shipped by the Society, which was disposed of at a very low figure. Yet with all this, the accounts herewith submitted of the actual outlays and earnings of the voyage show a slight gain.

As the time approached for the return of the ship in the spring of '63, your Agent found it very difficult to advise as to her making another voyage, and the Executive Committee were slow to come to a conclusion, and had they known the actual number of emigrants that would ultimately go, no doubt but they would have decided against the voyage. There was some hope, and a strong one, in the minds of some Agents of the Society, that a ship-load of Contrabands might be obtained. It is sufficient to say that the voyage was deci-

Report of Dr. James Hall.

ded upon immediately on the arrival of the ship. As the time approached, the emigrants fell off, and a less amount of freight was offered than any preceding voyage. The voyage would now have been given up, but your Agent had contracted with the American Missionary Association to take four missionaries to Sierra Leone, and could not with propriety fail to fulfill this contract. Under these circumstances, he strongly urged the Executive Committee to make a shipment of merchandise, not only to derive the advantage of freight for the ship, but with the hope of realizing a profit thereby, to make up for losses otherwise inevitable. After much deliberation, the measure, with some modifications, was decided upon, and the Agent purchased and shipped an invoice, which with cost and charges amounted to some \$14,000—a copy of which, together with much correspondence concerning it, may be seen in the ship's letter-book now before you.

It will be recollected that instructions were given the Master of the ship at the last preceding voyage, commenced in November, '62, to call at the Cape Verdes, and procure donkeys, for agricultural purposes. This object was frustrated by a most trivial cause—want of a bill of health—without which the Master was not allowed to communicate with the shore. The present was thought a most propitious time for executing an object so desirable, and one which had been urged upon the Society for many years. It was hoped, too, that much of the cargo shipped by the Society might be advantageously disposed of at these Islands. Every arrangement was made to execute this object; a bill of health was procured, proper papers obtained from the Portuguese Consul, hay, oats, corn and water were put on board for the animals, and full and explicit instructions given to the Master in regard to the entire voyage, not only as Master of a packet ship, but as a merchant trader, till he should arrive in Liberia, where the cargo would be placed at the disposal of the Society's Agent, Mr. Dennis. The financial results of the voyage will be seen in the accounts laid before you. It was, as might be expected, a losing one—some 25 adult emigrants in place of 300, and little freight besides what was furnished by the Society. True, there were a respectable number of cabin passengers, but many of these at rates scarcely defraying the outlay for stores. The desideratum of

Amendments to the Constitution.

obtaining donkeys was effected. Forty-three were shipped at St. Vincents, and on arrival at Monrovia, were placed in the hands of the Society's Agent, Mr. Dennis, for sale, and most of them were disposed of ere the ship left.

It is impossible at this time to give the result of the shipment, as some few articles were left in the hands of the Agent unsold, and the greater part of the return cargo, or proceeds of sales made on the coast, are yet on hand, but are in good demand, and sales of all will no doubt speedily be closed. The conclusion may be warranted that no loss will be sustained, and possibly, some little profit realized. The Captain found the market glutted with articles of all American products at the Island and at Sierra Leone, and all merchandise disposed of at the latter, near half the cargo was at cost, a part only covering freight. This, in connection with the fact that he was obliged to return to Sierra Leone for produce in payment, materially increased the expenses of the voyage. The voyage was, of necessity, from causes adverted to, an uncommonly long one, consequently the ship did not arrive in port in season for her autumnal trip, had it been thought advisable to have made one. The causes which rendered the expediency of voyage I. so doubtful, induced the Executive Committee to decide upon laying the ship up until sufficient inducements were offered to warrant another voyage.

I regret to say that the past year's service has pretty much used up the sails and rigging of the ship, and their renewal at present prices must require a heavy outlay. The question of charter for a short voyage has been mooted, but nothing offers that would promise anything but loss, even were the ship constructed for a freighter; and I see nothing better in the present state of things than to keep her at the wharf at the lowest possible rate of expenditure.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES HALL, *Agent*.

The proceedings of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, at a meeting held Sept. 14, 1863, and published, as required, in the African Repository for October last, giving notice of proposed amendments to the 5th and 9th articles of the Constitution of the

Special Committees appointed.

American Colonization Society, were read, and the Board passed to their consideration.

On the question being raised, the President decided that amendments to the Constitution must be confined to the several articles named in the notice; and that amendments to other articles of the Constitution would not be in order.

Mr. Gregory proposed two amendments to the 5th article of the Constitution; when, on motion of Mr. Warren, it was

Resolved, That the several amendments proposed be referred to a special Committee. Messrs. Warren, Tracy, and Gregory were appointed.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Committee just appointed be enlarged by the addition of Messrs. Pinney and Pettit.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Board adjourn to meet to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock. Adjourned.

THURSDAY MORNING, *January 21, 1864.*

The Board met pursuant to adjournment; President Latrobe in the chair. The Divine blessing was invoked by the Rev. Franklin Butler.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That so much of the Annual Report of the Society as relates to Liberia College, at Monrovia, be referred to a special Committee. Messrs. Tracy, Gurley, and Ropes were appointed.

Rev. Dr. Maclean, as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Foreign Relations, reported, with amendments, the resolutions offered by Hon. S. H. Huntington and referred to them, and recommended their passage by the Board. Whereupon, on motion, it was

Resolved, That the report be accepted, and the resolutions adopted, as follows:

Committee on Foreign Relations.

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be and hereby is instructed to address a letter, without delay, to the President of the Republic of Liberia requesting him to furnish this Board, from the information which may be in the possession of the Liberia Government, a concise statement for the last or current fiscal year of Liberia, of the number of acres of land in the Republic under cultivation, and increase of the same during the year; of the kind, quality, and value of agricultural and manufacturing products of the Republic; of the amount and value of the annual exports and imports, specifying the quality and kind of the different articles constituting the exports and imports; the present population of the Republic, distinguishing between emigrants and their descendants, and natives; the number of schools and churches, the numbers and members of each and the addition to each during the year; and any other statistical information tending to show the progress of the people in wealth and civilization; and to forward the same to the Secretary, that the whole, or an abstract thereof, may be embodied in the Annual Report.

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the President of Liberia, that the object of this Society in asking for such report is to enable it to present to the United States Government, and the free people of color of the United States, a better knowledge of the present condition of Liberia, and thereby to obtain the influence of the Government, and the approbation of the free colored people in favor of emigration to that Republic.

Mr. Crozer, as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Auxiliary Societies, made a report, which was read, and on motion accepted, as follows:

The Committee on Auxiliary Societies having considered the subject submitted to them, respectfully Report:

That your Committee were much gratified to find that the Auxiliary Societies generally, if not without exception, where a collecting agency was employed, have realized an increase of receipts above those of the previous year. This is an interesting fact, inasmuch as it shows that our friends are still willing to sustain the cause by their contributions when called upon to do so; and does it not also furnish an argument in favor of the policy of *employing* suitable Agents, to some extent at least, in these "troublesome times." We apprehend there is little danger that our treasury will ever be burdened with funds which cannot be used in promoting the legitimate objects of the Society. We think there is more reason to fear a scanty treasury when it need be full.

Your Committee would further express their deep conviction of the importance of *harmony* between the Parent Society and its branches in the prosecution of their great work. Free, mutual correspondence, with an earnest desire to secure this desirable end, would be a hopeful means to obtain it.

JOHN P. CROZER, } Committee.
JOHN ORCUTT. }

Committee on Accounts.

Mr. Ropes, as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Accounts, presented and read a report; which, on motion, was accepted. Pending the consideration of the accompanying resolutions, (the first and second having been adopted,) the remaining resolution was, on motion, laid on the table for the present:

The Committee on Accounts have performed the duties assigned to them, and have found the accounts submitted to their inspection correctly kept and properly vouched. They also find that the ship *Mary Caroline Stevens* is now lying idle in port, at some expense for wharfage, care and insurance, and cannot be fitted for future service without a considerable outlay, while if sailing from New York she would be placed at a disadvantage by the competition of private enterprise, even if it were desirable (which we cannot think it is) that a benevolent Society should engage permanently in mercantile operations. In the meantime, the altered circumstances and aspects of the times have checked the current of emigration to Africa, and when it shall again set in, it is by no means certain that we can best promote it by running an emigrant packet on our own account.

The Committee therefore beg leave to report the following resolutions:

1. That the Treasurer's accounts for the year 1863 are hereby approved.
2. That the Report and Accounts of Dr. James Hall, relating to the ship *Mary Caroline Stevens*, are hereby approved.

J. S. ROPES, *Chairman*.

Mr. Pettit, as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Emigration, read a report; which was, on motion, accepted, and the resolution accompanying it was adopted:

The Committee on Emigration, to whom was referred that part of the Annual Report relating to this subject, respectfully Report: That they have given it the best consideration the brief period allowed them permits. It appears that but a small number have emigrated during the past year, although very active and earnest efforts were made, both by this and the Auxiliary Societies, to impress the conviction on our colored population that their best interests would be promoted by accepting our liberal proposition to convey them to the land of their fathers. We have earnestly endeavored to convince them that it would be to the interest of themselves and their posterity to become citizens of the free Republic that has been established on the shores of Africa; and that they ought to unite with and strengthen their brethren who have already gone, and who have so highly honored themselves and their race in building up a nation, the destinies of which is to be in their own hands, and where they will not be burdened by the com-

Committee on Emigration.

petition or the presence of any rivals except of their own people. But while your Committee have to regret that the inducements thus held out have not been immediately accepted, they yet hope that the teaching has not been in vain. The disturbed and almost chaotic condition in which the colored population have been thrown by the extraordinary events of the past two years, has tended to confuse and embarrass them in their choice. Vague hopes of a beneficial change in their condition here, and the pressing demand for their services in various capacities, are among the causes which have diverted their attention from the greater advantage held out for their acceptance in Liberia. How long this may be the case it is impossible to foretell. But, during this state of uncertainty, we may still continue the generous offer of the Society to them, and send out the limited number that may offer, until their condition among us shall become more clear and defined. In this view, we would recommend that no effort be relaxed to present to them the benefits offered by their emigration to their own land and Government in Africa. We are the more impressed with the propriety of this course by the urgent want of increased numbers in some of the settlements of that country. Since and Cape Palmas, and even Bassa, are particularly in want of an increased population, and it is highly desirable that their numbers shall be increased as early and as rapidly as possible. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Society will use its best efforts, notwithstanding all discouragement, to secure this end.

In accordance with the views thus expressed, they respectfully submit, for the adoption of the Board, the following resolution :

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to use their best efforts to obtain and to forward the largest possible number of industrious and intelligent emigrants during the present year.

WM. V. PETTIT,	} Committee.
GEO. W. SCOTT,	
FRANKLIN BUTLER.	

Hon. Mr. Warren, as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Agencies, made a report; which was read, and, on motion, accepted.

The Committee on Agencies beg leave to submit their report :

The report of only one Agent has been referred to them—that of Rev. Mr. Butler, Agent of three of the New England States. This report speaks for itself, and fairly sets forth the ground upon which Agencies have heretofore been established.

The means of this Society, whether in regard to its permanent fund, or the sums annually received on behalf of the cause of Colonization, for defraying the expenses of the Parent and Auxiliary Societies, have been derived, 1st,

Committee on Agencies.

from liberal donations and bequests ; 2d, from the fees paid by Life Directors and Life Members ; and 3d, from small sums annually subscribed, or collections taken in the churches.

The influence which disposes the liberal and christian men and women of our country to furnish aid, in either of these modes, is very largely owing to the exertions made by the regularly appointed Agents, acting in co-operation with the officers of the different Societies. Agents "sow the seed," and the harvest is gathered, in part, soon after their labor has been faithfully bestowed ; but the largest portion does not appear until after the lapse of many years. It is obvious, therefore, that if this influence should be wholly withdrawn, by discharging the faithful laborer, the good result would soon cease to appear.

The Committee are of opinion that the Board should employ every means in their power to keep alive in the community the interest in the cause, by unfolding the objects of the Society and the mode proposed to accomplish them, and also by securing the money, both in large and small sums, necessary to carry out these objects. And, among those means known to the Board, that of employing competent and devoted Agents should never be overlooked.

G. WASHINGTON WARREN, *Chairman.*

The resolutions attached to the report of the special Committee to inquire into the grounds of the call made by the Liberia Government for certain accounts of the Society's Agents in Liberia, in connection with recaptured Africans, (submitted and accepted by the Board on Tuesday,) were taken up, and, after some slight amendments, were adopted.

The Board took a recess for the business meeting of the Society ; and, after a brief period, resumed its session.

The third resolution of the Standing Committee on Accounts was then considered, amended, and adopted.

Mr. Gregory, Chairman of the Standing Committee on Finance, presented and read a report ; which, on motion, was accepted, and the resolutions were adopted.

Rev. J. Maclean, D. D., Chairman of the Standing Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred resolutions offered by Rev. Mr. Pinney, concerning claims of foreign Governments to por-

 North Western Boundary of Liberia.

tions of the territory of Liberia, presented and read a report; which was accepted, and the resolutions attached adopted, viz :

In reference to the subject of the North-western boundary of Liberia, the consideration of which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee would respectfully recommend the adoption of the following resolutions :

1. *Resolved*, That the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to collect from the minutes of this Society the different records pertaining to this subject; and to send copies of these records to the Consul-General of Liberia, in London, that he may be able, in his correspondence with the British Government, to show what sums have been expended by the American Colonization Society, in purchasing from the natives their titles to the territories now in question between the British Government and the Government of Liberia; and that he may be further able to show, that these purchases were made with the knowledge of the British Government at that time, and under the impression that the action of the Society met the approval of that Government.

2. *Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society has learned, with deep regret, that the British Government, which has hitherto shown the greatest kindness to the Government and people of Liberia, now refuses to recognize the claim of Liberia to the territories in question; and the American Colonization Society cannot but hope, that when the British Government shall be in possession of all the evidence relating to the action of this Society, and the expenses incurred by the same, that that great and powerful nation will recognize and confirm the claim of Liberia to the territories in question.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Warren,

Resolved, That we do now adjourn, to meet this evening, at 7 o'clock. Adjourned.

 EVENING SESSION, *January 21, 1864.*

The Board met at 7 o'clock, p. m., agreeably to adjournment; the President in the chair.

The minutes of this morning's session were read and approved.

A note was read from Dr. L. A. Smith, Newark, N. J., January 18, expressing regret at his inability to attend the present Session of the Board as a Delegate from the New Jersey Society.

On motion of the Corresponding Secretary, it was

Amendment to the Constitution.

Resolved, That it has ever been the aim and purpose of this Society to conciliate the favor and obtain the countenance and aid of the National Government; and, since it is cherished as one of the deepest convictions of this Society, that the growth of Liberia and the extension of our commercial influence on the African coast, is of great importance to this nation; therefore,

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to confer with the President and Members of his Cabinet, and Members of Congress, with the view of representing to them the great interest to be secured by African Colonization by the United States, and leading to the adoption, by our Government, of the wisest and best measures for the furtherance of that great cause; and that the Committee continue during the year.

Messrs. Gurley, Parker and Kerr were appointed the Committee.

Hon. Mr. Warren, Chairman of the special Committee to whom were referred proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Society, presented and read a report.

The Board proceeded to the consideration of the proposed amendments, when the 9th article was unanimously adopted, as reported, and is as follows:

9th Article. This Constitution may be amended, upon a proposition to that effect made and approved at any meeting of the Board of Directors, or made by any of the auxiliary Societies represented in the Board of Directors, transmitted to the Secretary, and published in the official paper of the Society three months before the annual meeting; provided such amendment receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at its next annual meeting.

Pending the consideration of the reported amendments to the 5th article, it was, on motion of Rev. J. Maclean, D. D.,

Resolved, That said amendments be laid on the table.

Rev. J. Tracy, D. D., as Chairman of the special Committee on that portion of the Annual Report in reference to Liberia College, presented and read a report; which, on motion, was accepted, and the resolution attached adopted, viz:

Report on Liberia College.

The special Committee to whom was referred so much of the Annual Report as relates to Liberia College, and Education in Liberia, ask leave to report as follows :

From sources accessible to the Committee, we learn that some of the statements in the Report need to be qualified by later information. The action of the New York Colonization Society has provided all the charitable aid to students that will probably be needed for some years, so that there is now no present call for formations of scholarships. A part of this provision arises from the surplus of the income of the Fulton fund, which remains after paying the salary of the Fulton Professor.

The support of Professor Freeman is expected to be furnished by friends in Pennsylvania and Vermont, as stated in the Report.

The salaries of the President and one Professor, and of the Principal of the Preparatory Department, for the coming year, and some minor expenses, are yet to be provided for.

The funds holden by the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia have been much reduced by the erection of the College buildings, and the payment of other expenses connected with the establishment of the College, and its support hitherto. Besides a donation received January 1, 1864, of \$5,000, as a permanent fund for the establishment and support of the library, these Trustees now hold only about \$8,000 of some of the best stocks in New England, which no good financier would willingly sell; yet their income falls far short of the amount necessary to support the College, even with the aid from other sources above mentioned. The Trustees are now engaged in an effort to raise funds whose income will meet this deficiency; but they need aid while making this effort.

In this state of the affairs of the College, the question may well be raised, whether this Society may not, with propriety, now give those Trustees that "co-operation" which it promised at its annual meeting in 1850. The proceedings were as follows :

"The following paper was submitted, and referred to a Committee consisting of Messrs. Maclean, Phelps, and Tracy :

"The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in obedience to a vote of the Society, passed at its last annual meeting, have appointed a Committee to report on the formation of a Board of Trustees for a fund for Collegiate Education in Liberia. The Committee still have the subject in charge; and the prospect is, that they will be able to select a small board of gentlemen who will consent to serve, and who will entirely command public confidence, and that some amount of funds will be given.

"The Board and its Committee are perfectly aware that it is impossible immediately to establish in Liberia an institution which would deserve the name of a College in this country; but they are fully persuaded that the work ought to be done as soon as practicable, and that the necessary preparatory measures ought not to be deferred.

Appropriation to Liberia College.

"In this stage of the business, the Board requests such notice from the Parent Society as may best promote this important object.

"By order of the Executive Committee.

"JOSEPH TRACY, *Secretary*.

"The Committee to whom was referred the communication from the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, respectfully submit the following resolutions for the consideration of the Board, and recommend their adoption :

"*Resolved*, That this Board have learned with much pleasure, that the subject of establishing a College in Liberia has engaged the attention of the Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society ; and, to the utmost of their ability, this Board will co-operate in so important an enterprise ; yet they deem it expedient to leave this matter to be matured by their friends in Massachusetts, who have already taken it in hand.

"*Resolved*, That the legacy bequeathed by the late Mr. Stanton, of Illinois, and to be expended in promoting the cause of education in Liberia, be invested as soon as received ; and that this legacy be sacredly kept as a part of a permanent fund for the endowment of a College in Liberia ; provided that the provisions of the Will will admit of this being done.

"JOHN MACLEAN, *Chairman*.

"The report was accepted, and the resolutions were adopted."

These proceedings were among the encouragements which induced those "friends in Massachusetts" to proceed in this work, and incur the responsibilities which now rest upon them. There seems, therefore, to be some obligation resting on this Society, to render some of the needed aid. An appropriation of \$2,500, to be paid to the Trustees towards the support of the College for the current year, would probably enable them to meet all their liabilities without diminution of the funds now held by them. The Committee therefore propose the following resolution, viz :

Resolved, That the sum of \$2,500 is hereby appropriated to be paid to the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia, towards the support of Liberia College for the current year.

JOSEPH TRACY, *Chairman*.

Rev. J. Tracy, D. D., as Chairman of the special Committee on nominations of officers for the ensuing year, presented and read a report ; which, on motion, was accepted, and the officers named duly elected :

The Committee to nominate officers respectfully report, that they have taken the liberty, which they suppose the position of our affairs requires and justifies, to recommend a new official title. The Secretary, whose official connection with this Society dates almost from its first organization, and has continued, with brief interruptions, to the present time, has earned exemption from the labors and responsibilities of the ordinary routine of official

 Nomination of Officers.

duties. Yet his place in the history of this Society, and in the hearts of its friends, and his knowledge of its affairs, are such as forbids the termination of his official connection with it. The Committee therefore nominate the Rev. Ralph Randolph Gurley, Honorary Secretary of this Society.

In their judgment, his salary should continue as it has been for the past year, till July next; and thenceforth he should receive an annual, quarterly or monthly payment, sufficient for his comfortable support during life. This, they think, is his due, fairly earned by his past labors; independently of any literary or other labors in behalf of the Society, which his zeal may prompt him and his strength enable him to perform. For the amount to be paid him after July next, the Committee would suggest the sum of twelve hundred dollars a year.

The Committee also nominate for

Financial Secretary and Treasurer,

Rev. WILLIAM McLAIN, D. D.

Travelling Secretary,

Rev. JOHN ORCUTT, D. D.

Corresponding and Recording Secretary,

WILLIAM COPPINGER, Esq.

Executive Committee,

HARVEY LINDSLY, M. D.,

JOSEPH H. BRADLEY, Esq.,

WILLIAM GUNTON, Esq.,

Rev. GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D.,

HON. PETER PARKER,

HON. SAMUEL H. HUNTINGTON,

HON. JOHN B. KERR.

JOSEPH TRACY,
JOHN MACLEAN, } Committee.
D. S. GREGORY, }

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Hon. Mr. Gregory be requested to reduce to writing his remarks in relation to the services of the Honorary Secretary, and that the same be entered on the records.

Mr. Gregory's remarks.

On the consideration of the adoption of the report of the Committee, consisting of President Maclean, Rev. Dr. Tracy, and Mr. Gregory, to relieve the Corresponding Secretary from the labors of that office, and substituting a permanent honorary position to the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Mr. Gregory asked permission to make a few remarks. He said :

That being on the Committee, he had to perform one of the most painful acts of his life. He had, with some intervals, attended the annual meetings of the Parent Society for many years ; and as the roll of Delegates and Directors of the Society present was read, he wished there had been a column for the record of the age of each person, to teach us all how swiftly pass the years. It would be an instructive lesson to every one of us, for "all men deem all men mortal but themselves."

Mr. President, (he continued,) indulge me on this occasion, while I impulsively recount my first acquaintance with the aim and objects of the Colonization scheme. Many years ago, I attended a large and influential meeting of the friends of the cause, held in the Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New York, now occupied as a post-office. Seating myself in the gallery, I observed and listened to the proceedings. Three eminent men followed each other in a few brief remarks, recounting the manner of their enlistment in the cause. The first speaker was the Rev. Spencer H. Cone, long a Baptist clergyman in that city. He referred to the change in his life, from the stage, when quite young, to the pulpit ; and that, on one occasion, while addressing, in Virginia, a large assembly of colored people, (and his success was so apparent among them that he thought at one time that his mission was to be a Paul among them,) a hearty looking young man, with rosy cheeks, came into the aisle of the church, and at the close of the service made himself known to him, and besought him to come up to his school-house and address the colored people in that neighborhood. The appointment was made, and a large audience was in attendance, filling the building and surrounding it. That young man, now in the meridian of life, is present with us, (referring to the Rev. R. R. Gurley,) and I trust will address us on this occasion. The second speaker was not less eminent ; it was Benjamin F. Butler—first the pupil, then the law partner, of Martin Van Buren, and subsequently the Attorney General of the United States under President Jackson. This learned and eloquent man related how he was induced to take a deep interest in the plan of African Colonization, by personal interviews with Mr. Gurley. The third person who arose and made remarks was William L. Stone, editor of the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser, (and co-partner, as proprietor, with the venerable Francis Hall, one of the most earnest

 Mr. Gregory's remarks.

friends of the Colonization cause, and although now over eighty years of age, is actively engaged in the cause of religion and benevolence.) In the course of Col. Stone's remarks, he also related the manner of his being brought to advocate the cause, ascribing it all to the personal interviews and efforts of the Rev. Mr. Gurley. Three of these men are now in the mansions above. The audience having been thus warmed up in a desire to hear from the great and earnest advocate himself, he proceeded to the platform, and poured out one of those eloquent appeals of which those who heard him in his palmy days can alone appreciate. It was on that occasion I enlisted, and two framed certificates, of an old date, hanging on the walls of my library, testify that I have been long a Life Member of the Parent as well as of the New York Society.

Since that remarkable meeting time has made rapid strides in the events of all our lives; and, with your further indulgence, I will continue my brief narrative, leading to my personal acquaintance with Mr. Gurley.

My only sister, who had travelled with her husband, George Catlin, among the Indian tribes, was in the city of London in 1840 and 1841, and they occupied Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, with his Museum. It being a convenient and central position, it became the daily resort of Americans in London to meet each other; and it was this Hall which Mr. Gurley occupied at that time in debate with opponents of the cause during his visit to England.* A full account of this debate was written out and sent to me by my sister. Messrs. Stone & Hall published it in the *Commercial and Spectator*, and I sent copies to London. However gratifying this circumstance was to Mr. Gurley, he was not aware of the authorship until some years after. In the Providence of God, this Christian lady died in Paris, in 1845. Her body was embalmed, and sent to be buried in her own country. The funeral service took place from my residence in Jersey city. Just before the procession moved for Greenwood, a stranger entered the house, and asked permission to accompany the relatives and friends to the place of interment, for he said he had known her abroad. Arriving at the Cemetery, after the coffin had been lowered to its final resting place, this stranger stepped forward, and he said that he could not permit it to be covered until he had thrown upon it the wreath of affection he had for the departed, and in a brief address rehearsed her moral worth, and in language touching and sublime reached the tenderest cords of all present. Thus I became personally acquainted with my excellent friend, Rev. R. R. Gurley, and from that day have not ceased to esteem and love him. The day following the funeral there appeared in the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce* an obituary notice of the departed one, and this I cut out and kept, knowing it to have been written by this good man.

* See a valuable work, containing a history of the American Colonization Society, worthy of a second edition, entitled "*Gurley's Mission to England.*" pp. 111, 99.

Conclusion of the Proceedings.

Mr. President, I will trespass on your time with but a word or two more; and, though foreign to the subject of the report, yet they belong to this story. Some months later, after this melancholy duty, a sculptured monument, from the design of her husband, was sent from Paris, to be placed over the remains of his wife. The inscription was left out, to be inserted by her brothers. Visitors to the city of the dead, at Greenwood, will find this striking monument at *Sylvan Bluff*, and the inscription there, penned by your Corresponding Secretary, and extracted from the obituary notice referred to, reads thus:

"While her remains sleep under the eyes of affection in her native land, her spirit, we feel assured, is in the land of the blessed. Not more certainly will the breath of spring re-animate and re-adorn the flowers around her grave, than her form come forth from the dust, at the voice of the Son of God, clothed with immortal beauty, in the morning of the resurrection."

In this retrospective view of my early acquaintance, of the efforts of the missionary of the great cause we represent, of its greatest advocate, longest friend, and most eloquent and earnest officer of the Society, is it surprising that I should deeply feel the responsibility of acting for his welfare in my service upon the Committee?

On motion of Rev. J. Maclean, D. D., it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report be referred to the Executive Committee with authority to publish the same, or such parts thereof as they may deem advisable.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board are hereby tendered to the President of the Society, for the able and impartial manner in which he has presided on this occasion; and to the Secretary, for his faithful services at this meeting.

The minutes were read and approved.

The Board then united in prayer, offered by the Rev. Dr. Tracy; when the Board adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday in January, 1865, at 12, M, at the rooms of the Society.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE,

President Am. Col. Society.

WM. COPPINGER,

Secretary.